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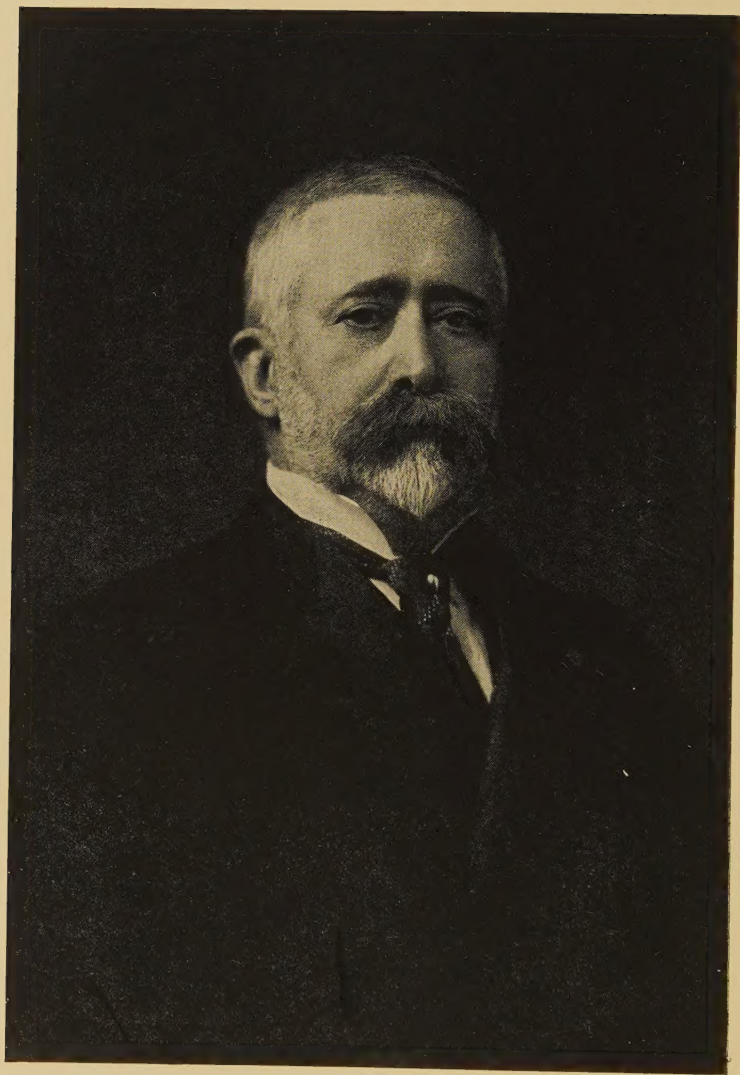
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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GHOSTS

BY GEORGE WATSON COLE

BIBLIOGRAPHIES swarm with references to editions of works that never existed. These errors we may ascribe to two causes. The first, no doubt, owes its existence to poor penmanship. Unfortunately most writers in their haste to commit their messages to writing forget that their chirography is not as legible to others as to themselves. The consequence is that when their manuscripts reach the printer they have to be deciphered by the compositors as best they can. Much amusement has been caused by printers' errors. But a moment's reflection must convince any thoughtful person that the wonder is not that printers have done no better, but that they have done as well as they have, considering the difficulties with which they have had to contend. In reading-matter the context is of great assistance in deciphering an author's meaning. But when it comes to figures there is no such aid upon which reliance can be placed, so that a mistake of this kind easily slips past the proofreader and is often not detected, even by the author himself.

A second cause for the appearance of the erroneous dates of editions found in bibliographies arises from conjectural readings of mutilated or indistinct imprints in the books themselves. I may be excused, therefore, for calling attention to two or three interesting examples as illustrations of how such errors arise and are perpetuated.

The first of these has to do with the ascription of an apocryphal date to a well-known play, which by constant repetition passed unquestioned for about a hundred years. This example shows that the mere repetition of a statement is not corroborative evidence of its truth.

In this instance A, who probably wrote an illegible hand, gave as the date of an edition figures that may have been correct. The printer in putting his copy into type did the best he could to decipher A's crabbed handwriting but failed. A may or may not have read the proofs, and even had he done so the mistake, i.e., the substitution of one numeral in a date for another, would quite likely have failed to excite his suspicion.

B, following A, found this statement and repeated it, believing it to be true. C, coming after, copied A's statement or perhaps B's. D in his turn followed, and, supposing him to have been more careful than his predecessors, may have examined all he could find that had been printed previously on the subject. He found that A, B, and C had each made the same statement, that they all agreed in giving the same date to an edition, which, in this particular case, happened to be 1616. D was naturally led into the belief that the three statements he found were corroborative. Nearly a century passed. During this time all of the statements made by A regarding other editions of the work in question found corroborative proof in the fact that copies of each were discovered and definitely located—were found, seen, handled, and examined. At last E, for the first time recognizing this

fact, questioned the statements of his predecessors regarding the date 1616, of which no copy could be found, and suggested that that date was a mistake and that it should be 1646. An edition with this date exists, but it had been omitted by A, though given later by B, C, and D and its existence definitely proved by the finding of a copy bearing that date.

Thus we see that a date once mistakenly given is difficult to refute. For this very reason the bibliographer of the present day is more and more insisting that descriptions be made from copies of the books themselves rather than from the bare statements of others concerning them which are incapable of proof.

One sometimes repeats a statement so often that at last he actually believes it to be true. Such is human nature. When we find a statement repeatedly made by different writers, we naturally assume that they corroborate one another, whereas, parrot-like, they may be simply repeating each other.

I

A striking example illustrating this form of error may be found in the bibliography of Chapman's play of *Bussy d'Ambois*, of which the first edition appeared in 1607. This play was the most popular of any he wrote and the only one whose popularity on the stage survived the Restoration. It went through several editions, at least two before his death in 1634, and two more before the close of the seventeenth century.

Baker, in his *Biographica Dramatica* (1812), gives a list of these, beginning with the first, that of 1607, followed by others dated 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1657.

Watt, whose great work, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, appeared twelve years later (1824), notes editions of 1607, 1608, 1613 (perhaps a misprint for 1616), 1641, and 1646.

Hazlitt, in his *Hand-Book* (1867), notes editions of 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1657, and, in his *Collections and Notes, Second Series* (1882), adds another, that of 1646.

Lowndes, in his *Bibliographer's Manual*, which appeared about the same time (1869), gives 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1646.

Fleay, in his *English Drama* (1891), gives 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1657.

Greg, in his *List of Plays* (1900), gives 1607, 1608, 1616 (with reference to Baker), 1641, 1646, and 1657. Two years later, however, in his *List of Masques* (1902), p. cxxiii, he suggests that the date 1616 was "probably a mistake for 1646, omitted in the *Biographia*" by Baker.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* (1908) gives 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641, and 1657.

Such is the record of the different editions of this work as found in our standard bibliographies (not to mention less important ones), extending over a period of nearly one hundred years; or, to be strictly accurate, of ninety-six years. The following table shows, in a graphic manner, the records we have just given:

CHAPMAN'S *BUSSY D'AMBOIS*: A TRAGEDY

Editions	1607	1608	1613	1616	1641	1646	1657
Baker, 2(1812), 73.....	x	x	o	x	x	o	x
Watt, 1(1824), 212j.....	x	x	x ¹	o	x	x	o
Hazlitt (1867), 82.....	x	x	o	x	x	x ²	x
Lowndes, 1(1869), 410....	x	x	o	x	x	x	o
Fleay, 1(1891), 50.....	x	x	o	x	x	o	x
Hazlitt (1892), 32.....	x	x	o	x	x	x	x
Greg (1900), 19.....	x	x	o	x ³	x	x	x
D.N.B., 4(1908), 50.....	x	x	o	x	x	o	x

¹ Perhaps a misprint for 1616.² In *Collections and Notes* (1882), 90.³ "Probably a mistake for 1646, omitted in the *Bibliographia*" (*Masques*, cxxiii).

One bibliographer after another had thus, with occasional variations, accepted as accurate the dates given by Baker (1812) and Watt (1824). Neither makes any pretense of locating copies nor even lays claim to having seen a single copy of any of these early editions nor to have had one of them in his possession. Hazlitt, with the possible exception of Herbert, appears to have been one of the earliest English bibliographers who attempted to locate copies of the works he describes. Lowndes occasionally gives the location of a copy, as in the Bodleian or British Museum; Fleay makes no such attempt; and Hazlitt, in his *Old English Plays* (1892), contents himself with merely giving dates without comment. Dr. Greg, in his *List of Plays* (1900), gives full titles, with names of printers and dates, and locates copies in the British Museum and principal University Libraries, and, occasionally, for works of extreme rarity, in some of the smaller collections, public or private.

During the interval between Baker's work and that of Hazlitt and Greg, copies of most of the editions of Chapman's play have been definitely located. Not so, however, that of 1616. The statements of Baker and Watt, followed by those of the other writers we have named, seem to have been taken as corroborative evidence that such editions existed, and the first to raise a question was Greg, who in his *List of Masques* (1902), as we have already seen, suggested that Baker's date was "probably a mistake for 1646."

Such was the old method of compiling bibliographies. This instance is cited only as an example of many others, which careful research will most certainly disclose, and which are indeed constantly turning up in Lowndes and others who have blindly followed one another in noting editions which no doubt, as has already been suggested, owe their existence to crabbed or illegible handwriting.

Certain of the Arabic numerals, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0, when hastily written, are peculiarly liable to be mistaken for one another; thus a 7 readily passes for a 9, a 5 for a 6, a 1 for a 4, etc., and the more crabbed the writing the more likely resulting errors.

Until, therefore, an actual copy of an edition noted by any of these old bibliographers can be located, its existence becomes a matter of considerable doubt. It would not be safe to assert positively that no such edition exists, for hidden away somewhere, as, for example, in such instances as in the great Lamport Hall and Irish finds,

copies of these questionable editions may come to light; but great caution must constantly be observed in following the early bibliographers, and it is fairly safe to assume that, if, after a period of, say, a hundred years or so, no copy can be definitely located, no such edition ever existed.

There is a possibility, remote indeed, that any work the existence of which is in doubt may turn up in some bound volume of miscellaneous pamphlets. A single instance may be mentioned. When Henry Martyn Dexter compiled the extensive bibliographical appendix to his *Congregationalism* (1880), he recorded T. Drakes's *Ten Counter Demands* of 1618 (no. 485), as known only by Euring's *Answer* to it published in 1619. A copy of Drakes's rare pamphlet, perhaps unique, is now in the library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington, and bears evidence by its cropped headlines that it must once have belonged to a bound volume of pamphlets. This little work, of four leaves only, is of special interest to collectors of Americana as it contains at the end probably the earliest recorded suggestion that the Separatists, or Puritans, "by the permission of our noble King, and honourable Counsell remoue into *Virginia*, and make a plantation there, in hope to conuert infidels to Christianitie."

So we may safely conclude that, inasmuch as during this long period no copy of a 1616 impression of *Bussy d'Ambois* has turned up, no such edition was ever printed.

II

An instance of a ghost of quite a different character occurs in the case of a little book entitled *Of the Circumference of the Earth: or, A Treatise of the North-east Passage*; imprinted at London by W. W. for Iohn Barnes, 1612. This is the second edition of *Fata Mihi Totum mea sunt agitanda per Orbem*; imprinted at London by W. W. for Iohn Barnes, 1611. This latter work, notwithstanding its Latin title, is written in English. Both editions were published anonymously, but Sir Dudley Digges is its author, as is shown from Chamberlain's letter, quoted below. Digges was intensely interested in the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Alexander Brown, in his *Genesis of the United States* (2:878), says:

He aided in sending Henry Hudson to the Northwest (April 17, 1610), and Cape Digges and Digges Iland were named for him; On the 4th of December, 1611, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton: "Sir Dudley Digges, a great undertaker of this new discovery of the North West Passage, thinks of nothing else: they are preparing ships against spring as if there were no doubt nor difficulty in the matter, and the Prince of Wales is become a partner and Protector." Chamberlain again wrote to Carleton, March 11, 1612: "There is a little treatise of the North West Passage, written by Sir Dudley Digges; but I may say *beatus qui intelligit*, especially the first period, which is but a bad beginning to stumble at the threshold. Some of his good friends say he had better have given five hundred pounds than published such a pamphlet; but he is wonderfully possessed with the opinion and hopes of that passage."

He aided in sending the voyage for the discovery of the Northwest passage which sailed in March, 1615. (William Baffin wrote

an account of this voyage.) Was a member of the Bermudas Company, June 29, 1615. In 1616 he aided in sending out another voyage on Northwest discoveries, in which another cape was named for him in "Latitude 76 degrees, 35 minutes."

In the little book now under consideration Digges gives as his reasons for writing it (p. 4) that

But because some (that holde the place, at least of) good Seamen, and Maisters in the studie of Cosmographie, deliuer their opinion without reasons, that there yet remaine on the North of *America*, many hundred Leagues for vs to passe: Wee hold it not amisse to shew you why (besides our late experience) wee thinke not so, in this succeeding short discourse.

He begins by summarizing his studies of Ptolemy, Marinus, and other ancient geographers and astronomers, coupled with the practical knowledge of the earth's surface and experience acquired by some of the voyages of the early discoverers and circumnavigators, and comes to the conclusion (p. 6) that

All men obseruing that the Sunne in foure and twentie howers was carryed round; and the most Learned, that one hower tooke vp 300. Leagues, or 900. Miles. It was concluded, that the Sunnes whole course was 24. times so much: so that the common best opinion of the greatest Compasse of the Worlde, became 7200. L. or 21600. M.

Making allowance for the decrease in the number of miles or leagues to each degree of latitude as one goes north or south toward the poles, he says (p. 23):

Now from the Meridian of the *Canaries* Westward to *Jamaica*, or to keepe our Parallel to *Virginia* by seuerall Eclipses, obserued,

by seuerall men, there hath beene found a difference of neare 60. Degrees or 4. Howers: so that the Remainder of the 135. is about 6. Degrees, or 300. English Miles betweene *Virginia* and *Noua Albion*.

For Confirmation whereof, let vs remember that the *Indians* in *Virginia* continually assure our people, that 12. daies iournie westward from the *Fals*, they haue a Sea, where they haue sometimes seene such Shippes as ours.

He then goes on to say (p. 24):

Let vs remember how *Vasques de Coronado*, sent to discouer the North of *America* by the Viceroy: *Antonio de Mendoza*, labouring in his Letters to perswade the Emperour what a large and ample Continent there was to inhabite, writeth, that at *Cibola*, hee was 150. L. from the South Sea, and a little more from the North. Let vs remember how plainely Sir *Francis Drake* his Iornal, prooues that his *Noua Albion* can be very little further Westward then *Aquatulco*; whereby see but how great a part of the Backe of *America*, is cleane wyp't away?

He then calls attention to the account of the voyages made by the Spanish navigators, from which he concludes (p. 25) that the North American continent "is nothing broad, howeuer it be painted."

He concludes by saying (p. 26):

And for any thing wee yet can heare, no one Voyage to the contrarie, wee see not but wee may conclude, that the Flood our People met, came from the Southerne Sea, and till we heare more Authentically reasons then of feare, grounded on false Cardes, beleue that our Industry, by Gods grace, may this next Voyage, manifest the Prophetie of *Baptista Ramusius*, touching the North-west passage.

Both editions of Digges's book are in Mr. Henry E. Huntington's library; the first (1611) from the Bridge-

water House library; the second (1612), the Heber-Britwell copy.

Sabin (8:33389) enters this book under E. Hows—Edmund Howes, the chronicler, who was a member of the North-West-Passage Company (Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 2:928)—and locates a copy of it in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, giving as the year of its publication the date 1632. A letter to Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of that library, regarding this copy elicited the following reply:

I am very glad that you asked the question about our copy "Of the Circumference of the Earth," otherwise it would have entirely escaped my attention, and the history seems to be not a little curious. The title page at first sight looks to be 1632, but on close study one can see that the last or the last two figures are in pen and ink and there is evidence of rubbing over the date. On page one in the space between typographical ornament and the text there is written in manuscript, "To the Right Honorable and worthy and Religious and vertuous Gent John Winthrop the Yonger all health and felicitie," and at the bottom of page four this foreword is signed in manuscript, "Yors, E. Hows." Hows was a correspondent of the younger Winthrop, and you will find a number of letters from him in the "Collections" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th series, volume VI, page 467. In a note on page 480 of this volume there is a description of this tract, with a further manuscript note by Hows. The letter shows that Hows sent the volume to Winthrop on the 23d of November, 1632. This explains the date "1632," but it does not explain how the editor of the Winthrop volume came to mistake it for a writing of Hows. The volume came to the Society in June, 1811, by gift from its President, Thomas Lyndall Winthrop. Thus you have exposed what may be called a "fake" volume, but the faking was entirely

unconscious on the part of Hows. Under these circumstances I shall make a note in our "Proceedings" on your question and the answer. This was undoubtedly an issue of 1612.

III

We come now to our third ghost, a case in which by the misreading of a mutilated date two editions have been created that never existed. Sometime during the second or third decades of the seventeenth century (bibliographers, as we shall soon see, are divided in opinion as to the exact date or dates, the number of editions, and authorship) there appeared from the press of Thomas Cotes, in London, a tragedy bearing the title, "*The Bloody Banquet*, by T. D."

This drama opens with a dumb show in which the events leading up to the opening of the play are represented. This scene is followed by a chorus which explains to the observer the actions which he has just witnessed in pantomime. The plot may be described as follows: The King of Lydia being at war with the King of Lycia and finding himself on the point of being vanquished, sends a messenger to the King of Cilicia, Armatrites, asking him to come to his aid. He does so, and, as a result, the Lycian king is defeated; but Armatrites, being the stronger of the two, treacherously deposes the King of Lydia, to whose assistance he had been invited. Notwithstanding the hostile relations thus brought about between the two kings, their sons, Tymethes, the Lydian, and Zenarchus, the Cilician, become friends, and the

former is encouraged by the latter, and even by the usurper himself, to make love to Amphridote, the sister of Zenarchus and daughter of the tyrant. Tymethes is reluctant to form this attachment, and particularly so after his eyes have once rested upon the Queen.

Of the character of the young Queen of Cilicia, wife of the usurper, it may be said, in passing, that she was of the type of Potiphar's wife and he, Tymethes, a not unwilling Joseph. It is upon the development of these traits of character and the sinister results that followed that the dramatist has constructed his play.

Tymethes, lacking the sternly virtuous mold of his prototype, the young Hebrew, finds himself unable to resist the machinations of the Queen and willingly submits to the strict precautions she imposes upon him in order that they may meet in secrecy. She, on her part, takes every measure and risks all to gratify her desires and yet keep her victim in complete ignorance of the exalted personage with whom he is dealing. By the lavish use of gold she attempts to secure the confidence and secrecy of her trusted attendants.

Mazeres, the favorite of the King, suspecting the infidelity of the Queen, by a still more lavish use of the precious metal wins over the Queen's keeper and go-between, Roxano. Mazeres enters so completely into the plan of carrying out the intrigue that he, in a great measure, supplants Roxano, and, by taking his place, is enabled to establish beyond a shadow of doubt the guilty acts of Tymethes and the Queen. The former is led

blindfolded to the place of rendezvous, and the darkness of night effectually prevents any discovery of the place or person involved. During his second visit, overcome by curiosity and rashly disregarding the warning that the disclosure of the identity of his paramour will result in direful consequences, he, by the aid of a dark lantern, gratifies his curiosity and makes the fatal discovery. The Queen, realizing that all is lost, acts with promptness, procures a pistol, and in order to save her life and reputation, shoots him on the spot.

Meantime Mazerès, the court favorite, has revealed the affair to the King, who, in a furor of jealousy, bursts in upon the scene with Mazerès, only to find that he has arrived too late, and that the object of his vengeance has passed beyond his reach. Notwithstanding the Queen's protestation that she had killed Tymethes in defense of her honor, her guilt is clearly established by the evidence of both Roxano and Mazerès. The King commands that the corpse of Tymethes be taken away and quartered, that the Queen be placed in confinement, and that no other food than the body of her paramour be given her until it is fully consumed.

From this point onward the action of the play moves rapidly and tragedy follows tragedy in quick succession. Roxano and Mazerès, rivals for royal advancement, meet and destroy each other. Amphridote, accusing her brother, Zenarchus, of not doing all that might have been done to prevent the death of Tymethes, poisons him as well as herself.

The last scene takes place within the castle. Several men, disguised as pilgrims, are admitted by the King, who, seeking to extenuate in some slight degree his previous misdeeds, treats them kindly. It transpires that the pilgrims are the King of Lydia, Lapiris his nephew, and a few faithful followers. The pilgrims are invited to eat. The guilty Queen is brought in and sitting apart at a separate table has brought to her on a dish the bloody head of her lover. The quartered limbs, hanging in full view of all, excite the commiseration of the pilgrims. In answer to questions, called out by this gruesome scene, the old King of Lydia learns that the quartered remains are those of Tymethes, his son. Assured by one of his attendants that the castle is in his power, he and his followers throw off their disguises. The tyrant realizing that escape is impossible kills the Queen and is in turn slain by the king whom he had so treacherously deposed.

The King of Lydia, thus restored to his kingdom, mourns that he has now no heir to succeed him. While the last acts of slaughter are taking place, the old Queen of Lydia makes a timely appearance, bringing with her their only remaining son, the heir to his father's throne, and the Lydian kingdom is once more firmly re-established.

But let us now turn from the imaginative to the conjectural; from the play to its author. We have seen by its title that it was written by one T. D. As there were a number of contemporaneous writers bearing these initials it is not surprising to find that the play has been

attributed to more than one of them. Somewhat more surprising is the fact that a number of bibliographers, assuming that these initials were printed by mistake, have proceeded to make attributions in harmony with their conjectures.

One of the first bibliographers to notice this work was Kirkman, who, in his *List of Plays*, appended to Dancer's edition of the translation of Corneille's play, *Nicomede*, London, 1671, gives the initials only and makes no attempt to name its author.

Langbaine, in his *Momus Triumphans* (1688), does the same; but in his *Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, 1691 (p. 519), he goes a step further and says, "This Play by some old Catalogues, is ascrib'd to *Thomas Basker*." Giles Jacob and Thomas Whincop in their lists published respectively in 1719 and 1747 give no further information.

Baker, more than half a century later, in his *Biographica Dramatica*, 1812, is more explicit. He says (2:61):

The Bloody Banquet printed with the letters T. D. . . . is, in some old Catalogues, ascribed to Tho. Barker. It was however probably written by Robert Davenport, being enumerated with some of his pieces in a list of plays that formerly belonged to the Cockpit theatre. The letters T. D. were perhaps printed by mistake in the title-page instead of R. D. See Mr. Malone's Supplement to Shakspeare, vol. i. p. 392.

Hazlitt, in his *Hand-Book* (1867), p. 136, remarks as follows: "Said to have been written by a Thomas Barker;

but this is doubtful; it has sometimes been given (with equal probability) to Robert Davenport."

Professor Schelling, a recent writer, in his *Elizabethan Drama* is inclined to set aside earlier conjectures. He says: "This tragedy, though a reversion to older and cruder type, is not without a certain brute force of its own. It seems hardly up to the level of Davenport, although it has been thought his. It is perhaps the work of Thomas Drue, the author of an old-fashioned chronicle play, *The Dutchess of Suffolk* [1631] of much the same date."

We thus see that the play has not lacked for a paternity. Not only have nearly all the dramatists whose initials correspond to those on the title-page been called upon to father it, but others with entirely different initials have also been called in to exercise that relationship. It is now probably too late to ascertain with any degree of certainty who actually wrote *The Bloody Banquet*. The only safe course, therefore, for the cataloguer to pursue is to follow the general practice and enter it under the initials "D., T." as they occur on the title-page, with a reference from the title.

But there is another and more important question connected with this play that we are able to take up with greater confidence. This is the question as to the number of times it appeared in print. The solution of this point can only be definitely determined by a critical comparison of a number of copies side by side.

We are told by bibliographers that editions of *The Bloody Banquet* appeared in 1620, 1630, and 1639. Let us for a moment consider what some of them have to say on this point, and, incidentally, it will be observed that the record extends over a period of nearly 250 years.

Kirkman (1671), whose list is but a skeleton, gives no date.

Langbaine (1681) says, "printed 1620."

Baker (1812), "printed in 4to 1620 and 4to 1639."

Halliwell (1860), in his *Catalogue of the Malone Collection*, in the Bodleian Library, gives the date of that copy as 1639.

Hazlitt (1867), in his *Hand-Book*, gives the date as 1630 and notes an edition of 1639.

The *Dyce Catalogue* (1875) and the *Huth Catalogue* (1880) both say 1639.

The British Museum (1884) *Catalogue of Books to 1640* gives the date of both its copies as 1620.

The Boston Public Library (1888), in the *Barton Catalogue*, says 1639.

Fleay (1891), in his *English Drama*, under Thomas Drue, gives the dates 1630 and 1639.

Hazlitt (1892), in his *Old English Plays*, says 1639.

Greg (1900), in his *List of Plays*, gives 1620 and refers to Hazlitt for an edition of 1639.

Sayle (1902) gives the date 1620 to a fragment of two leaves (B2, 3) in the Cambridge University Library. They lack the title-page, and the date 1620, which he

adopts, is unmistakably taken from the Catalogue of the British Museum.

Farmer (1914), in his *Facsimile Reprint* of the British Museum copy, places the date at 1620.

Hazlitt alone, in an obscure corner of *The Antiquary* for August, 1889 (20:61), says, without giving any reasons for his statement: "*Bloody Banquet, The.*—By T. D., 1639. This is the only edition."

We thus see that three editions are recorded and that in not a single instance is the date given as uncertain or with so much as a query. It is difficult, of course, to determine just how many of the dates above given are copied from those found in previous lists or how many are based upon an actual examination of the book itself. We must assume, however, that at least the dates given in the library catalogues are based upon actual copies; but even these differ.

We think it has been plainly shown that, much as the English, as a nation, love a moral, this tale was quite too repulsive for a second edition.

Copies of this play, while not commonly met with, are not of exceptional rarity. Most of those known, however, are in public institutions from which they cannot be taken; so that an examination of copies side by side cannot easily be made.

It may prove of interest to enumerate the known copies and see what is recorded of them. In England there are two copies in the British Museum, one in the Dyce Collection at the South Kensington Museum, one, the Malone

copy, in the Bodleian Library, and a fragment, lacking the title-page, in the University Library at Cambridge. There was also a copy in the Huth Library, sold in 1912 (2:1951), and others, Lord Mostyn's copies (nos. 84 and 85), have been sold recently. It may not unreasonably be supposed that there are as many other copies still hidden away in other private collections in England.

In America we know of one copy in the Barton Collection at the Boston Public Library, and three others in the library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington. A systematic search may reveal as many more in other private collections in this country.

There is a peculiarity of the title-page, common to all known copies, that bibliographers seem to have overlooked. The type, like that of many other books of the period, is set up on a larger scale than the letterpress in the body of the work. The complete title-page measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches in width; while the text in the body of the work, including headlines, signature-marks and catchwords, measures only $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height by $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in width. The title-page is therefore $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch taller and just that much wider than the text. It is doubtless owing to this fact that the binder, in trimming the book, has in many cases cut into and in some instances entirely cut away the lower line of the imprint, which, in full, reads:

LONDON

Printed by *Thomas Cotes*. 1639.

Similar instances are not uncommon. When once this fact is realized, the reason why so many imprints are found cropped will become evident. A similar case, of a later date, may be given. Denton's *Brief Description of New York*, London, 1670, is a parallel case. Its title-page is so very much larger than the text that often the whole or a considerable part of the imprint, of four closely printed lines, has been cut off by the binder. Few copies, even, have the second line remaining.

We venture to suggest that the reason why so many of these early title-pages were set up on a larger scale than the text to which they belong was due to the fact that the type of the title-page was set by a different compositor from those who set up the body of the book. In every printing office there are compositors who are more successful than their fellow-craftsmen in setting up what is known as display matter. A title-page is of this character of composition. When it came time to set up the title-page, what then would be more natural than that this work should be put into the hands of the man who could do this class of work most successfully? Without paying strict attention to the size of the text he most likely went ahead with his work and set it up according to his own ideas. The result was a title-page wider and longer than the text. Furthermore, innumerable pamphlets were in former days bound together in single volumes. When the binder cut the edges he was naturally guided by the first title-page in the volumes so bound. As a result of this procrustean process many a title-page was cropped, and,

consequently, we are constantly finding volumes in which the date or the entire imprint has disappeared.

But let us again return to *The Bloody Banquet*. Attention should once more be called to its imprint as given above, which, for reasons that will presently appear, we will here repeat. It reads:

LONDON

Printed by *Thomas Cotes*. 1639.

In order to understand fully what is to follow, the reader should remember that in the old-style of type, used in printing books of that period, the lower curve of the 3 and the tail of the 9 extended below the lower edge of the text, a fact that, taken in connection with the mutilations of the binders, has given rise to all the errors regarding the date of this particular work.

We may now proceed intelligently to examine such records as we have of the copies already enumerated.

Unfortunately neither of the copies in the British Museum has escaped the binder's knife. The Museum's *Catalogue of Books to 1640* (I:440) records two copies, to both of which the date 1620 is given. When John S. Farmer, in 1914, was looking for scarce books to add to his collection of the *Tudor Facsimile Texts of Old English Plays*, he considered this play of sufficient rarity to be included in that excellent series and selected one of the British Museum copies, the one with the press-mark 643, c. 4., from which to make his facsimile. It goes without saying that of the two, he selected the one with the

more complete imprint. Now, unfortunately, in the copy he selected the lower part of the line, | *Printed by Thomas Cotes. 1639.* |, has been completely cut away close up to the lower edge of the line so that only the upper part of the 3 and the circle of the 9 remain. We are safe in assuming that the imprint of the remaining copy is in an even more mutilated condition, otherwise he would have selected that. Such, then, is the state of the British Museum copies, to each of which the date 1620 has been given.

The imprint of the copy in the Bodleian Library, if reliance is to be placed on Halliwell's *Catalogue of the Malone Collection*, is intact. Such also appears to be the case of the copy in the Dyce Collection, at the South Kensington Museum. To both of those copies the date 1639 has been given.

The copy in the University Library at Cambridge is, as has already been stated, a fragment. It consists of but two leaves (B2, 3), and the date in Mr. Sayle's catalogue (2:460r) is unquestionably taken from that in the British Museum's *Catalogue of Books to 1640*, based, as we have just seen, upon a mutilated date.

The *Huth Catalogue* describes a copy, to which the date 1639 is given, but it is only in the *Sale Catalogue* (2:195r) that we learn that the last two figures of the imprint date have been cut into. The *Mostyn Catalogue* ascribes the play (nos. 84 and 85) to R. Davenport, gives to them the dates 1620 and 1639, and of the former it says "imprint cut into."

It will thus be seen that of the imprints in the eight copies recorded in England only three are by any possibility intact.

Now as to the American copies. That in the Barton Collection in the Boston Public Library appears to have an unimpaired imprint. In Mr. Huntington's library are three copies: (1) the Kemble-Devonshire copy, which bears Kemble's usual autograph inscription, *collated & perfect. J:P:K. 1798*; (2) the Robert Hoe copy, with an interesting provenance. On the verso of the fifth flyleaf is a note in the handwriting of Dr. Philip Bliss, presumably one of its former owners. Doctor Bliss, it will be remembered, was under-librarian at the Bodleian and the editor of Anthony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*. This copy also contains the autograph signatures of *Thos. Jolley 1807*, and *Henry G. Ashmead 1856*, and the ex-libris of Jolley and Hoe; (3) the third copy is in a bound volume of Davenport's plays, in which it was presumably placed because, as already stated, *The Bloody Banquet* has sometimes been thought to have been written by that author.

In the Kemble-Devonshire copy the last line of the imprint has been entirely cut away. In the other two copies it remains in full as printed. The Hoe copy has a very narrow margin of white paper, one-eighth of an inch wide, below the lower ends of the last two figures of the date, while in the remaining copy the binder's knife has just escaped bleeding them.

Fortunately we have been able to compare these copies with Farmer's facsimile of the copy in the British

Museum. A critical examination of all these copies for nicked or broken letters, spacings, alignments, wrong-font letters, typographical errors, etc. (and such features are by no means infrequent), shows that all of the Huntington copies are identical in these respects, and that they agree in every minute particular with the Farmer *Facsimile Reprint* of the British Museum copy. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible. All four were printed from but one and the same setting of type. Thus falls to the ground the statements, made from 1691 to this year of grace 1919, that there were three different editions of this play, those of 1620, 1630, and 1639. Two of these dates we have seen to be surmises made concerning copies in which the lower line had been cut into by the binder, close up to the bottom of the line reading, "Printed by Thomas Cotes. 1639."

Another case, strikingly similar in character, is to be seen in a copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare in the Lenox Collection in the New York Public Library. In this copy the lower line of the imprint, reading, "Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623.", was also cut close up to the lower edge of the letterpress. The lower margin, thus cut away, has since been skilfully extended and what remains of the upper part of the figure 3 cunningly touched up to resemble a figure 2, so that the date apparently reads 1622. This has been done so adroitly as almost to deceive the very elect; but by holding the leaf up to the light the joining of the paper is seen and the fraud instantly detected.

There is but one other point that need detain us in considering the play of *The Bloody Banquet*. Professor Schelling, in his *Elizabethan Drama* (1:594), makes the statement that this play was registered for publication in 1620, nineteen years before it was actually printed. As we were unable to find any authority for such a statement we communicated with the author of it, who has recently admitted his inability to verify it, so that the final obstacle to the conclusions here reached is completely removed.

For more than two and a quarter centuries this phantom has stalked through the bibliographies and histories of the English drama disguised in a tissue of conjectures and innocent misstatements. With better facilities for a comparison of copies the time has at last come when we can, with confidence, relegate it to the place of departed shades; for the most minute scrutiny fails to show that *The Bloody Banquet* was ever contemporaneously printed from more than one setting of type and that its title-page bore but one date, that of 1639.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WAR AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BIBLIOGRAPHI- CAL METHODS

BY ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON
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THE present paper is not a bibliography of bibliographies on the war. This matter is being very much better attended to by Mr. Meyer, of the Library of Congress. The point of it is that, on account of the enormous quantity of the literature on the war, a serious effort to handle this literature on a large scale, for immediate practical purposes, is a good example of the whole modern bibliographical problem—the problem of the great increase in the quantity of books. The paper is intended to call attention to the extent and diversity of the problem and the methods used to meet it in this case, and the need of developing and improving these methods, if the rapidly increasing quantity of literature in the world is to be mastered for the practical ends of research.

The fundamental object of bibliography is to enable a thinker to get together the results of previous thinkers on the same subject in order to build on this foundation, avoiding the labor of repeating work already done—not to mention the humiliation of finding when the work has really been finished that it has been done before and perhaps done better. This object finds its most definite illustration in the modern university thesis, where the

first search is for some topic on which no one else has done anything. Here the actual search is negative; it aims to find some minute subject on which nothing at all has been written. It soon becomes positive, however, in the fact that the process involves the exhaustive gathering of the literature of the entire narrow field in which this special untreated topic or aspect lies. The problem of the green A.B., set face to face with his world of say five million books and one hundred million periodical articles, with his Ph.D. and his academic life at stake, is to make sure that no one else has published his thesis before him—that there is no needle in the haystack—and his problem is that of research workers everywhere. The solution of the problem lies, of course, in general terms, in organization, that is to say, transforming a disorderly mass of unrelated things into an orderly series in which like things are put together into groups and groups of groups until, instead of having to look over and pass a judgment on one hundred and five millions, one has only to examine a few thousands. The problem is not a modern problem, but its seriousness is modern; it lies in the fact of incredible quantity and an incredible annual increase. In the most ancient times, when the whole sum of the recorded knowledge was contained in a few tablets laid up in a temple storehouse, the matter was simple enough—one man's memory held them all easily.

The invention of papyrus, the invention of alphabetical handwriting, the invention of vellum, the invention of paper, the invention of printing with movable type, and

the many inventions for cheapening the cost of paper or the cost of composition through stereotype and electrotype processes up to the recent days of wood-pulp paper and machine composition, have multiplied recorded literature faster and faster. Each stage, of course, developed more or less practical bibliographical processes devised to cope with the situation, precisely as the invention of each new projectile results in the invention of better protective armor, but, of course, each new invention produces a season of partial chaos while its counteragent is being evolved. At present we are in one of those periods where the enormous increase in the number of individual items produced has not been kept pace with by the bibliographical tools, and the result is a sort of bibliographical anarchism relieved by some noteworthy classified groups and by a few attempts at a more general systemization. These attempts are, some of them, on a large scale, and the best of them are the dictionary catalogues of our great American libraries.

Some of the more ambitious and important efforts to meet the situation on a general bibliographical basis are the *International Catalogue of Scientific Literature*, the *Zurich Index*, and the Wilson publications. These attempts mitigate the situation but at the same time accent the overwhelming character of the present bibliographical need in the very fact that, although inclusive to the point of millions of references, they only touch the fringe of the matter, and at a few points, while their varying methods supply some needs well, but others badly or not at all.

The net situation of this overwhelming mass of material is like the net situation of humanity itself in these days: it has broken down so far as any grip on the whole is concerned, and it is in danger of falling into complete disintegration through progressive specialization and progressive inclination to trouble one's self only with the best things nearest at hand. This anarchy comes largely from the breakdown of the old methods of compilation and use. The bibliography of the war offers, as has been suggested, an admirable, concrete, up-to-date illustration of the problem, because the field is so definite in its time limits, especially in the *terminus a quo*.

The occasion of this paper is the fact that the Princeton University Library has had to wrestle with this problem. It has been asked to give some account of its experiments in bibliographical method in the working out of this problem in the hope of being useful to others working in other fields. The Princeton Library is specializing on two broad aspects of the war; in its Benjamin Strong collection of books on the economic aspects of the war, and in the J. O. H. Pitney collection on the international law aspects. It has been, therefore, necessary to gather titles very exhaustively on these subjects, and at the same time considerable money has been provided for purchasing the best books on other aspects of the war. This raised the whole double problem of modern bibliography on a large scale: the gathering of everything for the use of the extreme specialists and the discriminating selection out of the great mass of world-books of those which give the

sum and substance of everything in the most condensed and readable form and with the best references to the more special literature, as well as critical judgments regarding the relative usefulness or worthlessness of this literature. The mere exhaustive gathering of everything on the subject is an extensive but rather simple aspect of the matter. The choice of the best is, as everyone knows, far more difficult. This is an artistic process which requires the very best gray matter available and a vast amount of time, special training, and knowledge of sources and method. Moreover, and most difficult of all, the work at Princeton had to be done under the circumstance that in various matters material was wanted for use at once and for important practical purposes. This was especially true of many of the war problems or problems of reconstruction which involved war experience. Some of the actual uses were concerned with the problems of labor and of immigration, the League of Nations, several matters affecting commercial geography, religious propaganda, education, etc. It was therefore a problem, not simply of getting together all the titles or the best titles, but of getting them at once and for practical use—the real modern problem.

The mere gathering of all titles in alphabetical order, although the simplest, was not by any means a small task. The scope of the undertaking included every book or pamphlet of sufficient importance to secure its inclusion in a priced sales catalogue, or in the catalogues of the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the

British Museum, the Lyons and the Le Blanc libraries, and other printed catalogues. The Le Blanc catalogue alone, and covering only to March, 1916, contained between eleven and twelve thousand books and pamphlets, with about sixty thousand periodical articles, broadsides, posters, items of currency, postage stamps, postal cards, museum objects, etc. It was comparatively a simple matter for a library with adequate clipping methods to cumulate the catalogues of Le Blanc and Lange, the accessions to the New York Public Library, the British Museum Library, the exhaustive Hinrich's list for the first nine months of the war, and, of course, the Library of Congress titles through its printed cards. It was easy also to add to these certain booksellers' lists and minor bibliographies.

This cumulation produced, in the first instance, a total of fifteen or twenty thousand titles growing in two years to about thirty thousand; but this did not begin to exhaust the booksellers' lists. Accordingly, the French, Italian, and Spanish lists were included, the assumption being that the Library of Congress and the British Museum would have all the latest English and American titles. By the courtesy of H. G. Leach, of the Scandinavian Foundation, a list of over one thousand Scandinavian titles was secured, and Dutch, Portuguese, and other literatures were provided for. It was naturally not easy to get hold of the German sources, but these were finally obtained through the courtesy of the State Department, and have now been brought up to the end of February

of this year. As some of these sections have been done by collaboration, and reports for others are not yet in, it is not possible to say exactly how many titles have been automatically gathered through these processes, but when the odds and ends are caught up and matters brought to July 1, 1919, it is likely that the titles will number not less than sixty or seventy thousand, under the rule of counting only such as are in priced booksellers' catalogues or are entered in library catalogues and bibliographies as volumes and pamphlets, not as broadsides or sub-pamphlet material. The gathering has been done by photostating and clipping, or by short title-reference typewriting.

This gives the rough scope of the bibliographical proposition of the war as to quantity of books and pamphlets, but it is only the beginning of the quantity proposition as it affects the research worker. There remains the more extensive matter of periodical articles and other sub-pamphlet material—posters, cartoons, photographs, music, currency, museum objects, and all the rest, important enough in their way although not belonging so much to the direct bibliographical problem, since their use is chiefly as monuments, not as literature. The extent of this latter field is suggested by the fact that the Le Blanc collection for the first twenty months of the war included less than twelve thousand books and pamphlets against forty thousand sub-pamphlet items. This catalogue contains also about twenty thousand periodical articles. Moreover, the

interesting classified catalogue of the public library of Lyons also contains large numbers of periodical articles, probably increasing the twenty thousand extracts of the Le Blanc catalogue by several thousand.

These sources, however, give little idea of the extent of the periodical problem. The published periodical indexes give a better but still imperfect idea. The titles in the German periodical indexes, e.g., have been estimated as not less than ten thousand articles in German periodicals annually, or say fifty thousand for the course of the war. Testing out in the same way by the Wilson indexes, it may be estimated that, although there are only some twenty-five hundred articles indexed under the caption "European War," the number indexed under the subheadings of countries or special subjects is so great as to point to probably twenty thousand articles per year in all the indexes, *Wilson*, *Faxon*, the *Athenaeum*, and others, or a hundred thousand English indexed articles altogether for the war. All this points to not less than 150,000 indexed titles in English and German alone. Add to these titles in other languages and the well-recognized fact, to which Mr. Teggart is now calling attention most vigorously, that only a small fraction of the best periodicals in the historical and linguistic and certain other sciences are included in the indexes, and it gives a strong probability of a million titles of periodical articles on the war. All this is outside the strictly ephemeral publications and does not take account of the vast number of articles in the daily press which are of value to future historians of

the war. These latter will be used at least in the indexed newspapers—the *London Times* and the *New York Times*—and must be taken account of by bibliographers.

The quantity of posters, broadsides, war currency, and museum objects may be guessed at by the fact that such items in the Library of Congress, excluding periodical articles and museum objects, equal the number of books and pamphlets, while the Le Blanc catalogue contains almost as many of these as it does of books, pamphlets, periodical articles, and museum objects put together. The field of relics and photographs is almost unlimited but must be left quite out of account. The items of posters, war currency, broadsides, trench newspapers, war stamps, and other matters suitable for ordinary cataloguing probably amount to at least as many as the items of books and pamphlets.

So much for the quantity. Turning now to quality, the instructions to the librarian at Princeton were, to begin with, to get everything on the war as fast as published. This instruction came, of course, in part from lack of bibliographical experience, but it was not such an impossible thing at first. Later, when a throng of worthless books appeared, the expensiveness of this plan grew more apparent, and some big libraries even settled down to getting only the most necessary books, with the formulated theory that the rest could be secured more cheaply after the war. This, however, did not work for Princeton nor for any of the other important libraries which were actively besieged by research workers

engaged on economic and international law questions which concerned the countries at war, and for whom a very large percentage of war literature was useful from one angle or another. The situation required rapid selection and anticipation of use. The library was fortunate in having the aid in this selection, especially of titles in English, first of Mr. James W. Alexander, who gave much of his leisure to it in the early days of the war, and then of Mr. William A. Paton, who up to the time of his illness and recent death gave to the task a great deal of his time and his valuable journalistic experience, well-trained taste, and judgment. It had also naturally the help of professors, particularly of Professors McCabe, Kemmerer, and Blau in economics, Professor Corwin in international law, and in various other classes of Professor Morse, the history reference librarian. Photostating and clipping methods were freely employed in preparing material for the use of these helpers and for the more wholesale and automatic methods of selection which had to be put in operation. The *London* and *New York Times* weekly supplements, the A.L.A. book list, the Lange bibliographies, and a number of shorter annotated lists, all the titles in the *American Economic Review*, and many minor annotated lists were clipped, cumulated, and used as aids in selection—and of course the *Athenaeum*, the *Book Review Digest*, and the critical journals in general were freely used. Latterly the choosers had the use of advance copies of an admirable annotated list for books in English on the religious aspects of the war, by Mr. Bradshaw.

When it came to still more wholesale methods of accumulation the simple if dangerous method of selection by title was freely used, with the feeling that a few slips now and then were worth what they cost, and yet not forgetting the experience of the learned professor, librarian of a certain theological seminary, who, ordering what he wanted out of the Macmillan lists, found that the *History of Joseph* which he got was printed on cloth and in words of one syllable!

Probably the best aids to wholesale selection were the accession catalogues of those libraries which themselves strictly select. One of the first steps taken, therefore, was to arrange a joint list of titles in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the Princeton University Library. These together yielded up to May 14, 1915, something less than 15,000 titles, which were printed in photostat. On July 18 an alphabetical list of the British Museum titles additional to these was printed, containing about 5,000 more titles. All these together, however, lacked at least one-third of the really important purchasable titles in English, French, and Italian—if one might judge by titles in the full cumulated list. These were freely purchased in some classes by title or by handling. On the whole, the best first aids to wholesale selections were the Library of Congress cards and the New York Public Library *Bulletin*.

While no attempt was made to meet the problem of periodical literature and the sub-pamphlet material systematically, two or three contributions were made

in the field of periodical titles which were needed for purposes of immediate use. A very considerable number of posters, war currency, museum objects, and so on, amounting to nearly 5,000 titles, likewise had to be handled somehow and handled quickly. An admirable guide to the entire field of the periodical literature on the economic aspects was found in the annotated periodical articles of the *American Economic Review*. These were clipped for the whole period of the war, cumulated in their rough classified order on cards, and, as there was a demand for articles on the subject of labor, these were photostat printed as cumulated.

Again, having loaned the recent volumes of certain periodicals on international law for the use of the Peace Commission, the library undertook the indexing of these periodicals. This was interrupted by the armistice and the taking of the books abroad, but the cards had been drawn off, and the matter was taken up later through the enthusiasm of a member of the Senior class, Mr. Charles R. Arrott, and the index was photostat printed. Again, it was thought that for the same purpose a cumulation of the very exhaustive indexes to periodicals published in the *American Journal of International Law* and the *Political Science Review* might be useful to experts on international law. Accordingly a complete rough cumulated subject catalogue was made of all the titles on international and public law in general which were contained in these. This needs weeding for duplicate titles, and to make a good publication it would require much editing, but it is useful and was made quickly at small expense.

In the matter of sub-pamphlet material the library was somewhat overwhelmed, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Benjamin Strong and Messrs. Taber, Garrett, Wright, and other alumni. Altogether this amounted to about 5,000 items, including 3,000 posters, 600 or 700 items of war currency, and a great many relics from battlefields. All of the posters and emergency war currency were photostated at once and provided with a title-a-bar linotype cumulated index. The relics from the battlefield are being treated in the same way and were in part furnished with printed catalogue description in the conventional library method.

The point of this paper being, as was said in the beginning, to call attention to new methods which have already been evolved for meeting the modern bibliographical problem, as illustrated in actual use on this proposition, I would sum up these methods briefly as a combination of clipping, photostat, and cumulative bar methods.

The cumulation of clippings can, of course, be made in folders by writing catchwords on the outside. One considerable improvement in method has been the use of the transparent paper envelope, which avoids the expense of writing the title or catchword. Another great advance in method is the fact that these irregular-sized clippings kept in transparencies or folders can be printed at any time in cumulation on the photostat without mounting on uniform cards. In this connection, moreover, it may be said that several methods of in-setting have been developed recently that reduce the

expense and increase the convenience of handling pasted slips.

In producing photostat editions only one thing is essential in order to get good results: the matter, whether typewritten or printed, should be close to the top of the card. There are many details of more or less advantage, such as methods of bringing photostat negatives for clipping to a uniform size, but the one essential point is to be free of the upper blank margin. The method is shown at its best by the fact that if any set of cards is written with a good black ribbon on top of the line and kept cumulated, these can be laid on the machine and printed in negative at the rate of not far from 20,000 titles a day, and, if wanted, two additional copies can be made each day following in positive.

It is obvious that this opens a great field for the indexing of periodicals owned by only a few libraries. The process can be carried out roughly as follows: (1) straight copying of periodical titles uniformly on the typewriter at an average of twenty-five titles an hour, (2) rough alphabetical subjecting of these cards by an expert with two inexpensive clerks, 200 cards per hour with 10 per cent of time additional for looking up obscure subjects, (3) alphabetizing automatically by subjects with typewritten guide cards, (4) laying on and printing at the rate of about 3,000 an hour.

The linotype-bar methods have been, thanks to the large-scale activity of the Wilson Company, developed very much more than the photostat methods and are

familiar to all. The maximum advantage of the method comes with confining each title to a single bar and handling this as a card is in the card catalogue. A method of filing and redistributing these bars by printing on and filing in small envelopes has been extensively used in this undertaking.

The net result of this experience is the belief that at the present stage of things the best method for wholesale bibliographical work is the extensive clipping of full titles arranged in numerical order of the accessions of the titles, with title-a-bar cumulated index. If only a single copy is needed, the card index is perfectly good. If needed in half a dozen to a dozen copies, the 60- to 100-letter title on the top of a card for photostating is the most economical solution. If more copies are wanted, the printed linotype-bar index is best.

The only salvation of the bibliographical situation seems to be the application of these methods on a large scale. The improvements in method are such that a courageous application by large libraries on a large scale might easily be made to produce that Universal Catalogue of Literature of which many have dreamed, and which a few, like the Brussels *Institute*, have attempted.

MANEANT SUA DATA LIBELLIS: A PROTEST AND A PLEA

BY WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, B.D., PH.D.
The Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts

SOME time ago the Boston Public Library acquired, at the sale of the Huth Library, several books. Among these I mention the 1552 *Brevis et dilucida de sacramentis Ecclesiæ Christi tractatio* . . . per Ioannem à Lasco. Londini per Stephanum Myerdamannum; and the *Preces privatae* of 1564. The books are in fine, almost sumptuous, morocco binding of recent date and every indication of former ownership—labels and all—is thus entirely destroyed. The same is true of a copy of Walter Haddon's revision of the Latin translation of the Book of Common Prayer by Alexander Aless (Alesius), published in 1560 as *Liber Precum publicarum* . . . in *Ecclesia Anglicana*,¹ which had been bought in by Robert Scott at the Amherst Sale (1908-09), No. 715, and came later into the possession of Dr. Benton through Quaritch. The book has Lord Amherst's bookplate but no other indication as to former ownership. It is bound in red morocco with blind antique ornaments and gilt edges. The red color is somewhat faded, an indication that the book came in this binding to Lord Amherst. It is the same copy which at the Rev. William Makellar sale,

¹ On Haddon's revision, see the present writer's *The Book of Common Prayer among the Nations of the World* (London, 1914), pp. 31-34.

December 7, 1898, No. 2429, sold for £3.17.6. The earmarks of the Makellar copy, viz., title leaf and upper right-hand corner of next leaf, most skilfully mended, are there; but every indication as to Makellar's ownership or that of any of his predecessors is wanting. These are but a few of many similar cases.

This custom of some large book collectors of rebinding early, rare books, thus destroying every indication of former ownership and actually obliterating the whole past history of the individual copy, impresses true lovers of books and conscientious bibliographers as vandalism and shows that these "great" book collectors are more interested in sumptuous modern bindings than in the preservation of the historic and individual character of early, rare, and in some cases unique, books. It is, likewise, one of the lamentable defects in many of the fine, printed catalogues of these collectors that the provenance of such volumes is, in no case, indicated, thus depriving students of the history of bibliography of the opportunity to identify them with, or distinguish them from, copies mentioned and described in earlier catalogues and bibliographical manuals or referred to in other quarters.

As a lover of books, early and rare, and a student of their migration from one collector to another, from one private library to another, distant at times thousands of miles from their original resting-place and domicile, I beg leave to protest most emphatically against such barbarous treatment of old friends and earnestly to beseech collectors of books to whom these lines may

appeal to avoid eradicating by new, fancy rebinding the history of early and rare books, of which, as a rule only a very few copies are known to have survived the wreck of time and the ravages of dust and the bookworm. These sumptuous modern morocco bindings of early books have always left upon me an impression similar to that made by the presentation of venerable persons dressed in the habiliments of youths of seventeen.

That there are now, and that there have always been, exceptions among book collectors, men who have treated early and rare books in their possession as real and personal friends and not merely as show-pieces in splendid covers for their own aggrandizement and the superficial admiration of friends and visitors, constitutes a happy feature to true lovers of books and is known to the readers of the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. None, to my knowledge, have surpassed in the safe and sane treatment of early and rare books the late Josiah Henry Benton, LL.D.

Mr. Benton was born in 1843 and died February 6, 1917. He was a trustee of the Boston Public Library for twenty years and for nearly nine years the president of the board. At his death, Mr. Benton bequeathed to the Library his splendid collection of Books of Common Prayer and other liturgical books, and books printed by John Baskerville, in addition to the provisional bequest of a large amount of money, the largest gift in all the history of the Boston Public Library, amounting to more than two million dollars. Of this amount one-half of the net

income is to be applied to the purchase of books desirable for scholarly research and use; the other half to be held as an accumulating fund, to be invested and reinvested, until the total amount thereof shall be two million dollars, this total amount to be applied either in the enlargement of the present central library building, or to the construction of another central library building in such part of the city as may be then most desirable for the accommodation of the people of Boston.¹

But it is not with Dr. Benton as the great benefactor of the Boston Public Library that we are just now concerned, but with the sane and sagacious treatment of early and rare, in a few cases unique, books in his liturgical collection. To this I desire to call the attention of all lovers and collectors of books, their advisers, and librarians.

Now, someone may ask, how came Mr. Benton to make a collection of Prayer Books, in which, as his friends knew, he took only an antiquarian and legal interest?

Some years before the death of Bishop Henry Codman Potter, Mr. and Mrs. Benton spent a summer in Europe. While staying in London, Mrs. Benton saw a finely printed copy of the first issue of the Caroline revision of the Book of Common Prayer, a large folio, with wide margins. It pleased her, and Mr. Benton bought the copy. Returning home on the same steamer with Bishop

¹The portrait of Dr. Benton, which appears as the frontispiece of this issue, is used through the courtesy of the editors of *Bostonia*, the official organ of Boston University.

Potter, Mr. Benton showed him the copy he had bought, and the Bishop, knowing that his friend was a great lover of books, suggested to him that he make a collection of prayer books and related liturgies.

At first Mr. Benton bought rather promiscuously, most of his purchases being from the former Bishop Gott library. When I became acquainted with him, in 1907, his collection amounted to not more than a hundred Books of Common Prayer and works relating to them.¹ Within three years the collection grew to 397 books and pamphlets, as the first edition of my catalogue of the collection shows.² After the first edition of the catalogue had been printed, Mr. Benton and the present writer endeavored to fill, from time to time, any apparent gaps so that it might be possible to present a harmonious and almost complete historical catalogue of the origin and growth of the Book of Common Prayer and related liturgies. Many an evening I spent examining catalogue upon catalogue, looking for some literary liturgical "nugget," to fill gaps still existing. And once, I am convinced, I caught one of the shrewdest book-dealers napping, when, after a long search for another book, I happened to see in Ludwig Rosenthal's catalogue, *Protestantische Theologie*, a copy of the Brandenburg-

¹ See the *Catalogue of Selected Editions of the Book of Common Prayer Both English and American*, Boston, published by the trustees of the Public Library, 1907.

² *The Book of Common Prayer and Books Connected with Its Origin and Growth*. Boston. Privately printed (By D. B. Updike, the Merrymount Press). 1910. vi, 84 pp. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., in 8s.

Nürnberg Kirchen-Ordnung of 1533, offered for 60 marks. Realizing the influence of this Lutheran service book upon the First Edwardine Liturgy of 1549, I urged Mr. Benton to secure the book immediately. When the copy reached here, it proved to be a well-preserved, tall copy, scarcely trimmed, in the original and contemporary binding of wooden covers, with heavy pigskin back, brass clasps, and pigskin guide tabs. It was, as stated, in excellent preservation and, at the price asked for it, can almost be considered a present. *Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus* could well be applied here to the shrewd and usually wide-awake Munich antiquary.

In the year 1790 the book belonged to "Fr. Niv. Abbas 1790," i.e. Frater Nivardus Schlimbach, last and most learned Abbot of Bildhausen, Cistercian Abbey in Lower Franconia, Germany. He evidently thought highly of the book, for the same hand wrote just below the main title the words: "editio rarissima, vid: Bauer, Bibliotheca," a great tribute by a Roman Catholic dignitary to an ultra-Protestant publication. Contrast now this copy, in original contemporary binding, with a copy listed in the Amherst Catalogue (London, 1908), p. 101, No. 517; bound in modern black morocco with blind stamped ornaments, gilt edges, formerly the property of Lord Crawford. It was bought in by Ridge for £20.10. The modern binding presupposes at least one, if not more, earlier bindings, and at each new binding the book was presumably trimmed more or

less. Can there be a comparison between this sumptuously bound copy and the Benton copy for any true lover of books, aside from the enormous difference in price paid for them?

Mr. Benton not only collected Books of Common Prayer but made also a study of them, especially from the legal point of view, as is amply shown in his short, comprehensive treatise,¹ printed in 1910.

The second, final edition of the catalogue, prepared in 1914, registered 685 books and pamphlets.² The collection was by this time quite complete and afforded a continuous historic study of the origin and development of the Book of Common Prayer. There was lacking only a copy of the first edition of the Elizabethan revision of 1559. The only copy known likely to be in the market within a reasonable time was the one in the Huth library. A year before the death of Mr. Quaritch, Jr., Mr. Benton gave him, in my presence, *carte blanche*, to buy for him the Huth copy when up for sale. Unfortunately both had died when the portion of the Huth library containing that particular copy was put upon the market. I urged the buying of the book at any price it should bring, reminding the authorities of Mr. Benton's oft-repeated statement that this copy would round out

¹ *The Book of Common Prayer, Its Origin and Growth*. Boston. Privately printed. (By D. B. Updike, the Merrymount Press.) 1910. (1), lxviii, pp. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., in 8s.

² *The Book of Common Prayer and Books Connected with Its Origin and Growth*. Second edition. Boston. Privately printed. (By D. B. Updike, the Merrymount Press.) 1914. viii, (1), 142 pp. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in., in 8s.

the collection which he had so generously bequeathed to the library. Notwithstanding, a bid was sent amounting to little more than one-half of the price the book finally brought, when it was purchased for Mr. Henry E. Huntington, of California.¹ Thus was lost a golden, a rare, opportunity to round out a splendid collection bequeathed to this library by its greatest benefactor whose oft-repeated statement as to the value of the book for the completion of the collection was well known. Will the time ever come when the authorities of our public libraries will listen in special cases to those who have made a specialty along certain lines rather than to those who have but a general knowledge of second-hand book values and trade? Were I a follower of Sir Oliver Lodge, I would feign have listened, at the time, for the well-known voice of the late owner of the Benton liturgical collection, giving expression to his disappointment and resentment in no uncertain tone and words, of which, like few mortals, he was a past master.

That quality rather than quantity is after all the proper standard by which the value of a library should be determined² was Mr. Benton's principle in the acquirement of this collection. He never bought an imperfect or a mutilated copy, with the exception of perhaps only one, a Salisbury primer of 1538. The original owner of

¹ See my article "Elizabethan Prayer Books of 1559" in the *Anglican Theological Review*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 310-313, December, 1918.

² G. W. Cole, *Book-Collectors as Benefactors of Public Libraries*, Chicago, 1915, p. 32.

this lay-folks' prayer book, soon after the Reformation, when the zeal for "the new religion" was most intense, struck out with pen and ink the prayers which referred to the Virgin Mary, and prayers for the dead. He likewise cut out a number of pages. The crossing out of so many sentences and whole prayers in this copy is also explained as a result of the Act of Parliament in 1549-50 (Statutes 3 and 4 Edw. VI, cap. 10): "for the abolishinge and puttinge awaye of diuerse Bookes and Images." It provided that any person might use any prymer, in English or Latin, set forth by the late king, "so that the sentences of Invocations or Prayer to Saintes in the same prymer be blotted or clerelye put out of the same."¹

On the other hand, it was not the habit of Mr. Benton to refuse buying a rare book because of the shabby condition of its binding, as has been the case with many book collectors. A complete text was the chief prerequisite, all else of secondary importance. Mr. Benton exemplified the true antiquarian spirit in that not one of the early and rare copies in his collection, even in case the binding was in more or less dilapidated condition, received a modern, sumptuous binding.

In order to preserve the historic character and the identity of these books, he had caused every rare book belonging to this portion of his large and valuable library to be put into specially made cases of the finest and most

¹ See, also, W. K. Clay, *Private Prayers of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. vii-viii.

durable morocco leather, with an inner, additional cover lined with asbestos, thus not only protecting the book itself against dust, heat, and smoke, but preserving, also, thereby, all the information as to former ownership, which, as we all know, is usually to be found on the inside of the covers or on the flyleaf, so often likewise destroyed in your sumptuous modern rebinding.

The outer cases are of three sizes only, viz., folio, quarto, and royal octavo; the inner cover fits exactly around the book. Whatever space there is between outer and inner case is filled in by additional layers of leather or wooden blocks, also covered with leather. Thus the whole collection, the backs of the cases being handsomely and uniformly lettered, creates a most harmonious impression.

This truly antiquarian treatment of early and rare books may appear to some readers and even to collectors an unnecessary idiosyncrasy; but to the careful bibliographer the data thus preserved in many cases are of great interest and importance, assisting often in the identification of copies in his possession or care with copies in other quarters of which he has heard or read.

A few references to the many instances in the Benton collection will, I trust, illustrate sufficiently and prove the reasonableness of my plea and contention.

The copy of the first issue of the First Edwardine liturgy, of March 7, 1549, was acquired in 1910 from the library of the late Colonel Thomas of Philadelphia, who had bought it through Quaritch at the sale of the library of

the late Bishop John Gott, by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, March 20 and 21, 1908. On the back of the front cover is the following note written by William Gott, father of the late bishop: "This book belonged to Lord Crewe Bp. of Durham, time of Chas. 2. and descended to Lord Alvanley. At his death, his library was sold and I bought this vol.: the opposite leaf was the fly leaf of the old binding & is in the handwriting of the Bp." William Gott bought the book in 1858 (Alvanley sale, No. 294), bound up with a liturgy of Elizabeth, and one of James I. Gott had the books bound separately in 1858 by F. Bedford.

The note by Bishop Crewe reads: "N.B. This is so great a curiosity I apprehend ye value of it at least Ten Guineas."

Nathaniel Crew, third Baron Crew of Stene (1633-1722), was bishop of Durham from 1674 to 1722. Though twice married the bishop had no children, and at his death the barony of Crew became extinct. Richard Pepper Arden, Baron Alvanley (1745-1804), was lord chief justice of the Common Pleas. He was called to the House of Lords as Baron Alvanley, Cheshire, the title being derived from his brother's estate.¹ William Gott bought the book from the estate of the third baron, who died, childless, in 1857.

Whether the book was inherited by Bishop Crew or bought by him cannot be ascertained. It must have

¹ "The life of Lord Alvanley," in William C. Townsend, *The Lives of Twelve Eminent Judges*. Vol. 1, pp. 129-161. London, 1846.

been originally a large-margin copy which was considerably trimmed when bound up with the other liturgies mentioned above. There are many brief manuscript notes and remarks, written on the margin, below and especially above the printed text in an early sixteenth-century hand and spelling. The contents and character of these notes point to a clergyman as their writer and owner of the book. When the book was bound up with the other liturgies, perhaps at the order of the Bishop of Durham, many of these brief comments were almost completely cut away by the trimming the book underwent at that time.

A copy of the Whitchurch edition of the Second Edwardine Prayer Book, dated 1552, was bought from Ellis of London, dealer in rare books, manuscripts, and prints, in 1910. Ellis had bought it through Quaritch, at an auction sale of Christie, Manson & Woods, December 17, 1907. It contains the two rare leaves of "An Acte for the Uniformitie of Common Prayer," lacking in most of the few copies known. There are two book plates on the back of the flyleaf, the one reading Scrope Berdmore, S.T.P. Coll. Mert. Custos, 1790; the other, Henry C. Compton, Esq., Manor House, Lyndhurst.

The Rev. Scrope Berdmore entered Merton College, Oxford, in 1762, aged about 15. He was warden of his college from 1790 until his death in 1810. In 1796 he was also vice-chancellor, the last of the long list of vice-chancellors. Henry Combe Compton, eldest son of John Compton, of the Manor House of Minestead,

Lindhurst, Hants, was born in 1789 and matriculated at Merton College in 1806. He probably acquired the book upon the death of the warden of his college, after whom his third son, the Rev. Berdmore Compton, M.A., Oxon, was named. Berdmore Compton was prebendary of St. Paul's and some time vicar of All Saints Church, Margaret Street, London, W. He died in 1896. From his estate the copy was bought by Ellis.

A handsome edition of the Liturgy, printed by Christopher Barker, in 1581, was bought from the library of the late Rev. J. H. Dent, Manor House, Hallaton, England, at a sale by Hodgson & Co., January 24, 1911. The book belonged originally to Sir Thomas Fairfax, whose autograph is at the top of the first of the three title pages. Denton, Yorkshire, was inherited by him in right of his mother. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1576 and died in 1599. His wife, Dorothy, was the daughter of George Gale, Esq., of Asham Grange. Sir Thomas, at one time of his life, must have given the book to his wife, for the reverse of the title-page of the Psalms, in this copy, has the manuscript lines: "This booke aperteinith to the Ladie Dorothy fairfax of Denton." Their oldest son, Sir Thomas, afterward first Lord of Fairfax, was born in 1560 and died in 1640. The younger son was Edward Fairfax, who died in 1635, the poet and translator of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. In the reign of Elizabeth, to whom he dedicated his translation of Tasso, Edward was known as a most zealous adherent of the Church of England. It is quite probable that the Prayer Book became the property of

Edward. On the death of the queen and the accession of James, the sovereign's name was changed with pen and ink in the Litany which begins on Sig. B ii, obverse, and extends to Sig. B v, reverse. On Sig. B ii, reverse, the same person who had changed the name of the sovereign wrote the marginal note:

“ She is deade and yet she liues: for one deathe two Lifes God geues | here on earthe in memorey: ther in heuen in endlesse glorie. | tho she semd to rayne alone: yet he wch owes of Thrones the Throne, | did sway his septer in hir hand; and blest wth peace and welth hir land | she was, she is his handmaid fayre: then Englandes quene now heuens cohare. Fa.:”

Sir Thomas, prosaic and strong partisan of James I, would scarce have penned such lines. The book, therefore, was in all probability the property of his younger brother, Edward.

An interesting edition of the Prayer Book is the Black-Letter Folio of 1636, printed by Robert Barker and by the Assignes of Iohn Bill. The copy of this edition in the Benton collection was likewise bought by Hodgson & Co., at the sale of the library of the late Rev. J. H. Dent. It was originally the property of William Juxon, of Little Compton, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose arms with gilt panels are on the front and back cover. The binding, therefore, dates shortly after 1660. He died June 4, 1663.

I mentioned above the Salisbury primer of 1538 as the only imperfect and mutilated book in the Benton collection. Of this prymer, “imprynted at Rowen, by

Nicholas Le Roux for Franchois Regnault, M.D. xxxviii," only four copies beside the Benton copy can be traced, viz., (1) the British Museum (C. 35b. 12) in a very fragmentary condition; (2) the Cambridge University Library, Henry Bradshaw's bequest; (3) Henry Hucks Gibbs, apparently the John Fuller Russell copy, sold June, 1885; and (4) the Marsh Library, Dublin, Ireland (see Royal Irish Academy, *Proceedings*, Series 3, Vol. 4, p. 426). Not one of these copies is perfect, for the reason, undoubtedly, mentioned above.

The Benton copy was bought at the Lord Amherst sale. The front incover has the bookplate of Burton-Constable reading: "Burton Constable | Library | Edward Constable." Lord Amherst bought the book at the Burton-Constable sale, Saturday, June 29, 1889. The library, located at Burton-Constable township in Yorkshire, England, was collected principally by Cuthbert Constable, M.D., an antiquary of no mean repute who died in 1747. The collecting was continued by William Constable, his son, who died in 1791. The whole estate and the library were inherited by Sir Thomas Hugh Clifford Constable (1762-1823).

On the flyleaf of the book is written: "bought at Mussel's Sale at Langford's in 1766 for $\overset{S}{K}\overset{D}{-}f$." S and D manifestly stand for shilling and pence. K, the tenth letter of the alphabet and f the sixth, indicate the price the book brought in 1766 as 10s-6d. Above this note in the right-hand upper corner we read "E. Mu | 1750," the rest of the name being cut off.

It is evidently to be restored to "E[benezer] Mussel [of Bethnal Green]." Abraham Langford (1711-74) was a playwright of some reputation and one of the best known London auctioneers. In 1748 he succeeded "the great Mr. Cock," i.e., Christopher, or "Auctioneer" Cock, at the auction rooms in the northeast corner of the Piazza, Covent Garden. The sale of Mussel's library took place on May 30, 1766.

The most interesting book in the Benton collection from the point of view of the present article is a collection of six Savoy Conference documents, gathered by Thomas Case, one of the Presbyterian commissioners to the Conference in 1661. The history of the book is as follows: In 1743 the copy was bought by Edward Leeds, in whose handwriting these lines are found on the obverse side of the first flyleaf: "The contents are on the next leaf. This Volume was collected by the Reverend Mr. Tho^s Case, one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in 1648 and one of the commissioners appointed by his Majestye to revise the Book of Common Prayer in 1661. Mr. Case's wife's Daughter by a former Husband married Dr. Hawes, a physitian in London, whose son the Reverend Mr. Tho^s Hawes, Rector of Croxton in Cambridgeshire dying in 1743, I purchased it of his widow among some other books of her late Husband.

Edward Leeds

Croxton Sept. 27, 1743—"

Thomas Case (1598-1682) was a Presbyterian divine of great prominence. He was married August 8, 1637,

to Anne, daughter of Oswald Mosley of Ancoats, Manchester, and widow of Robert Booth, of Salford, whose family had been for generations most prominent. In 1641 he became rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London. Here he remained until 1649. His resentment against the late Episcopal government was very deep and lasting, and was emphasized in every one of his writings. Later he became rector of the great parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, beyond Holborn, whence he was ejected in 1662, upon his refusal to subscribe to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity. The same treatment was awarded to about two thousand Presbyterian ministers whose lives were shortly afterward written by Edmund Calamy, the younger. Most of these men, however, had been intruded into the benefices of ejected Anglican clergy, who were seldom given the opportunity to conform to non-conformity.¹

To Dr. William Hawes, Case dedicated his best-known work, *Mount Pisgah*, in 1670.

Edward Leeds (1685-1758) was a serjeant-at-law. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1710; called to the bar in June, 1718, and attained eminence as a case lawyer. During his vacations he lived mainly on his

¹ See John Walker (1674-1747). *An attempt toward recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy of the Church of England, in the late times of the Grand Rebellion: occasion'd by the ninth chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter.* London: Printed by W. S. for J. Nicholson. 1714. (3), ii, (17) 436 pp. 35cm., in 2s. Geoffrey Bulmer Tatham. *Dr. John Walker and the sufferings of the clergy.* Cambridge. The University Press, 1911. vii (1), 429 pp. (Cambridge Historical Essays, No. 20.) 19 cm., in 8s.

estate at Croxton. He was a great lover of antiquity and a collector of books. It is probable that the binding of the collection of documents, in old English blue morocco, with gilt tooling and edges, was executed after it was purchased by Leeds in 1743. His eldest son, Edward Leeds, was born in 1728. He died, unmarried, in 1803. After his death his father's library was apparently sold at auction.

The next owner of the book was Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, whose beautiful gilt book label adorns the center of the front inside cover. Sykes was born in 1771. At the death of his father he became third baronet of Sledmere, in Yorkshire. He was a famous bibliophile and possessed one of the finest libraries in England. His personal memorandum, showing that he had entered this book in his catalogue, appears at the top of the inside cover: "Cat V 2 P 729 MMS Sledmere." A catalogue of his library was prepared by Henry John Todd. Todd, the well-known editor of Milton's works, was born in 1763 and died in 1845. For some time he was curate and canon in Canterbury Cathedral, and later rector of Settrington, Yorkshire. He was a zealous student of rare books and manuscripts. Sykes died in 1823. His library was sold in May and June, 1824. A note opposite the catalogue entry quoted above refers to this sale: "Sir M. Sykes's Sale pt III no 229:2.2.0; (commissions, etc.) 6s=a total of 2.8.0."

From Sykes's library the book passed into that of Richard Heber, indicated by the book stamp, "Bibliotheca

Heberiana," on the front page of the first flyleaf. Heber (1773-1833) was a half brother of Bishop Reginald Heber (1783-1826) and was a well-known book collector. The catalogue of his immense library is published in 12 parts, 1834-36; 8vo. The sale of his books extended from April 10, 1834, to February 22, 1837. Our book was bought by Robert Daly (1783-1872), Bishop of Cashel and Waterford, an eminent leader of the evangelical wing of the Church of England. His valuable library included a fine collection of Bibles and Prayer Books. This portion was sold at auction, June 25, 1858; and the proceeds were applied to benevolent purposes. To this sale refers a statement on the obverse of the back flyleaf, left-hand upper corner, viz., "A.S.X. Bp. of Cashels sale. No. 330. 1858." The copy was sold by Sotheby for £5.12.¹ and bought by William Gott, the father of John Gott, the Bishop of Truro. His bookplate and name are pasted on the inside front cover beneath that of Sykes. From Bishop Gott's library it was bought by Mr. Benton at the sale at Sotheby's, March 21, 1908.

Had Dr. Benton followed the custom of many well-known English and American book collectors, and had he rebound his books in sumptuous modern morocco bindings, most of the history of the transmission of these books would have been destroyed, and they would only be known to future generations of students as the Benton copies in the Boston Public Library. His sane and

¹ See, also, Lowndes, *A Bibliographer's Manual*, London, 1865. Vol. 4, page 1948, col. 2.

sagacious method of incasing all these books without rebinding them has saved their history and individuality.

The few illustrations given above, which could be greatly augmented, will, I hope, have shown the desirability and the importance of saving every indication, even the apparently most insignificant, of former ownership on the part of collectors and buyers of early printed and otherwise rare copies of books and pamphlets. Let not the history of the transmission of such copies be destroyed by rebinding. The shabbiest cover and fly-leaf, with notes, book labels, and other indications of former ownership, be they ever so scanty and, at first glance, unintelligible, will be dearer to the true antiquary and the conscientious bibliographer than a row of sumptuously rebound books, delightful only to the proud owner and the superficial admiring visitor, but an eyesore and bitter disappointment to him who considers books entitled to personal individuality as much as his own self.

And, therefore, I beg collectors and lovers of these old friends, I beseech advisers, librarians, and bibliographers, engrave upon the tablets of your memory, and teach to your colleagues and assistants, present and future, the so often neglected injunction: save the historical character of books and pamphlets, owned by you, or intrusted to your care! Let all data remain in books! Yea

Maneant sua data libellis!

BODLEY'S LIBRARIAN, EMERITUS

FALCONER MADAN, M.A., was born in 1851 and educated at Marlborough and Oxford. He entered Brasenose College in 1870, was elected a Fellow six years later, and in 1880 succeeded Ingram Bywater as Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library. During his period of office as Sub-Librarian Mr Madan was chiefly engaged in cataloguing manuscripts, four volumes of his *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* being published between the years 1895 and 1906. From 1889 to 1913 he held the appointment of University Lecturer in Mediaeval Palaeography.

Mr. Madan succeeded E. W. B. Nicholson as Bodley's Librarian in June, 1912, and from that time devoted himself wholly to administrative work, which at first centered round the extensive rearrangements of library collections due to the building of the Underground Book-store between the Bodleian and the Radcliffe Camera.

Among his more notable activities mention should be made of the *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, which he founded with a view to publishing a list of chief accessions and interesting persons in the work and progress of the Library. He also with characteristic energy organized in 1916 the most important and extensive exhibition of Shakespeariana held in Great Britain in connection with the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death.

In the annals of the Library Mr. Madan's period of office as Bodley's Librarian will be notable for the splendid gifts from Dr. Paget Toynbee of Italian books, from Mr. Edmund Backhouse of Chinese books, and for the Bywater bequest.

Wide as Mr. Madan's reputation is as a palaeographer it is still wider as a bibliographer. His first bibliographical work was *The Fight at Dame Europa's School*. In 1895 the first volume of his chief work, *The Oxford Press*, appeared. Mr. Madan's monograph on *The Gresleys of Drakelow*, with which family he is connected on his mother's side, is a monument to his patient and accurate methods of historical research.

In 1909 Mr. Madan was appointed Sanders Reader in Bibliography at the University of Cambridge, and was elected President of the Library Association for 1914-15.

WORKS OF FALCONER MADAN

	<i>Date.</i>
Bibliography of the "Fight at Dame Europa's School"	1882.
Bibliography of Sacheverell	1884.
<i>Edited:</i> H. Bradshaw, Half Century of Notes of John Dorne	1886.
Why we believe the Gospels to contain genuine history (Oxford House papers)	1889-90.
Oxford. A subject and alphabetical index. (Not published.)	1887.
List of the Oxford city records	1887.
Rough list of manuscript materials relating to the history of Oxford	1887.

	<i>Date.</i>
<i>Edited:</i> A century of the Phoenix common room, Brasenose College 1786-1886	
Bodleian lending	1888.
(<i>With W. E. Buckley.</i>) The Brasenose calendar. [With supplement, 1889]	1888.
The Brazen Nose. (Quatercentenary monographs, VIII)	1888-89.
<i>Edited:</i> Stuart papers. 2 vols. (Roxburghe Club) .	1889.
Books in manuscript	1893.
Early Oxford Press. (Oxford Hist. Soc.) Reissued as Vol. I of Oxford Books, 2 vols.	1895-1912.
A summary catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bod- leian Library. Vols. 3-6	1895-1906.
Bibliographical list of printed works of Dr. Pusey .	1897.
The Gresleys of Drakelow	1899.
A chart of Oxford printing '1468'-1900. (2 issues)	1904.
The Daniel Press. Wausau, Wisconsin	1904.
Obituary: Albert Watson. (Oxford Magazine) .	1904.
The original Bodleian copy of the first folio of Shakespere. (With <i>S. Gibson and G. M. R.</i> <i>Turbett.</i> 3 issues)	1905.
The Oxford University Press, a brief account. [2 issues]	1908.
[Parts of the Oxford Historical Society's publica- tions.]	
Brasenose College. Quatercentenary monographs, I, II, VIII	1909.
<i>Edited</i> (With G. H. Wakeling): The Brazen Nose. Vols. 1-	1909, &c.
[Miscellaneous contributions to bibliographical and other publications.]	

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA HELD AT ASBURY PARK, NEW JERSEY, JUNE 25, 1919

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the New Monterey Hotel, Asbury Park, New Jersey, at half past two o'clock on June 25, 1919, with the President, George Watson Cole, in the chair.

The following papers were read:

President's Address, *Bibliographical Ghosts*, by George Watson Cole, Librarian of the Henry E. Huntington Library, New York City.

Bibliography of the War, by Ernest C. Richardson, Librarian of Princeton University.

Maneant sua data libellis; a Protest and a Plea, by William Muss-Arnolt, of the Boston Public Library.

Speeches of Daniel Webster, by Clifford Blake Clapp, of the Henry E. Huntington Library.

Mr. Clapp's paper, of which he presented only a summary, is printed in the preceding number of the Society's *Papers*; the others appear in the present number.

Mr. Azariah S. Root, Librarian of Oberlin College, read a brief account of the career of Falconer Madan, Esq., who recently retired from the post of Bodley's Librarian at Oxford, prepared for the Society by Mr. Gibson of the Bodleian Library. Upon Mr. Root's motion it was voted that a committee consisting of Mr. Cole and Mr. Winship be instructed to send to Mr. Madan an expression of the Society's appreciation of his services to bibliography and his unfailing courtesy and generous assistance to those engaged in bibliographical researches.

Mr. George Parker Winship, Librarian of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection, Harvard University Library, reported for the Committee on the *Census of Incunabula*, that the printing of the *Census* was completed in December, 1918. The Introduction, List of Contributors, and Addenda of titles received too late for inclusion in the proper place were in the hands of the printers, and it was hoped to issue the completed work during the summer.

Mr. Cedric Chivers, of Bath, England, spoke informally in comment on Dr. Muss-Arnolt's paper, and gave interesting information concerning the ways in which a skilful binder can preserve the covering of old volumes. He particularly condemned the practice of dressing rare old books in bright-colored three-quarters Morocco leather, and described the method by which translucent vellum has been used to protect original covers, not only preserving the old material but retaining the notes or marks on the covers, which are frequently of importance in tracing the provenance of a copy. Mr. Chivers explained how these bindings came to be made, and his own discovery of the method of treating the material which makes them possible.

The Treasurer, Mr. Frederick W. Faxon, of Boston, presented his report, which is printed herewith.

Mr. William Dawson Johnston for the Committee to Nominate Officers reported the names, as given below, and, a ballot having been cast, they were unanimously elected:

President: George Watson Cole.

Vice-Presidents: George P. Winship, J. C. M. Hanson.

Secretary: Augustus H. Shearer.

Treasurer: Frederick W. Faxon.

Councilors: George A. Plimpton, to serve in the place of Henry Morse Stephens, deceased, until 1920. Worthington Chauncy Ford, to serve until 1923.

HENRY O. SEVERANCE, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
JULY 1918 TO JUNE 1919

The Bibliographical Society of America has, at the present time, 186 members in good standing, of whom 6 are new members since the last report. There are also 8 life members and 1 honorary member, making 195 in all. German and Austrian members are not reckoned this year.

We have, since our last report, dropped 3 members for non-payment of dues, and 4 members have resigned, namely, R. H. Dodd, Charles H. Brown, E. C. Hills, and F. H. Severance.

The payment of 1919 dues is more nearly complete at this time than usual, there being only 8 of our members at present unpaid for the current year.

I append report covering the year from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919:

RECEIPTS

July-December, 1918

Balance on hand July 1, 1918	\$294.81	
Membership dues, 1918.....	24.00	
Interest on deposit, July-December, 1918.....	4.65	
University of Chicago Press:		
Sales of publications, January- June, 1918.....	58.75	
Sales of publications, July-De- cember, 1918.....	52.26	
H. S. White, payment toward Fiske Memorial	129.20	
		\$563.67

January-June, 1919

Dues 1919 (including several for 1918, and the sale of one back number to a member)	561.40	
Interest on deposit, January-June, 1919..	5.15	
		566.55
		\$1,130.22

EXPENDITURES

July-December, 1918

University of Chicago Press:

Addressing, mailing, etc., publica- tions.....	29.54	
<i>Papers</i> , vol. 12, no. 3-4.....	426.62	
	<u> </u>	\$456.16

January-June, 1919

Addressing bills to members, postage, etc. . .	10.50	
Exchange on checks.....	.20	
	<u> </u>	10.70
		466.86
Balance in bank (State Street Trust Co., Boston)		663.36
		<u> </u>
		\$1,130.22

LIFE-MEMBERSHIP FUND

Principal

(For use only on Publications, not on regular *Papers*)

Balance on hand July 1, 1918.....	\$368.52	
No receipts		
No expenditures		
Balance on hand June 30, 1919 (Brook- line Savings Bank).....		\$368.52
		<u> </u>
		\$368.52

Interest

(Applicable to regular expenses of the Society)

Balance on hand July 1, 1918.....	52.56	
Accrued interest to June 30, 1919.....	15.18	
	<u> </u>	67.74
No expenditures		
Balance on hand June 30, 1919 (Brook- line Savings Bank).....	67.74	67.74
		<u> </u>
		67.74
Total.....		436.26

Respectfully submitted

F. W. FAXON, *Treasurer*

NOTES OF BOOKS AND WORKERS

HAIL AND FAREWELL.—When those who go abroad to study in libraries get to England once more, they will miss the two most familiar faces. At Oxford, Falconer Madan is no longer Bodley's Librarian, and at the British Museum Mr. Barwick has been succeeded as Keeper of Printed Books by Alfred W. Pollard.

George F. Barwick entered the service of the Museum in 1879. In 1900 he became Superintendent of the Reading Room, where he had already established himself in the grateful affection not alone of those Americans who frequent that fount wherein the makers of books seek perpetual youth. Since 1914 he has guided, and guarded, the Library as Keeper. His administration is, and it is profoundly to be hoped may always be, unique in the two things which have chiefly worried him during these five years—Zeppelin bombs and war-time officials seeking deskroom. The former undoubtedly caused more anxiety, but the annoyance, as well as actual damage, caused by the latter cannot yet be appraised.

This Society is under obligations to Mr. Gibson of the Bodleian staff for the memorandum on Mr. Madan's work printed on a preceding page, which was read at the annual meeting. There is an account in No. 22 of the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* of the election of his successor, Dr. A. E. Cowley, who was ceremonially inducted into his chair of office with a Latin speech, on June 24. In a University oration on the following day Mr. Madan was referred to as "custos summus, librorum amator, antiquitatis helluo, reliquiarum Oxoniensium auctor religiosissimus, conservator fidelissimus." He has taken a study at the Bodleian and "is almost as regular in attendance as before, busily continuing his work on the history of Oxford printing."

A MOHAWK SAINT.—In the Edward E. Ayer collection at the Newberry Library there is a little, imperfect, vellum-covered

volume which was picked up in a second-hand bookstore in Chicago for a sum so small as to be negligible. It lacks the title-page, one preliminary leaf, and fifteen pages of the text. It is a Spanish translation of P. Pierre Cholenec's account of the life of Catherine Tekakwitha, the "Indian saint" or "Lily of the Mohawks," and was published in Mexico in 1724. It is entered in Beristain under the name of Juan Hurtasum as follows: "La Gracia triunfante en la Vida de Catarina Tegacovita, India Iroquesa, y en las de otras de su Nacion. Imp. en Méjico por Hogal, 1724." The "Aprobacion" contains the following: "Escrita en francés por el Padre Francisco Colonec, de la sagrada Compania de Jesus, y traducida en castellano por el R. P. Juan de Vrtassum de la misma Compania."

The title appears under Urtassum in Dr. Nicolas León's *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVIII*, Part I, 1902, No. 956, and as No. 2772 in José Toribio Medina's *La Imprenta en Mexico*, 1909. Neither gives the location of a copy, but as Medina has the line-endings, he or one of his correspondents had presumably seen it.

The French original was first published in "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères." These "Lettres" were translated into Spanish by P. Diego Davin, thus giving us two Spanish translations of the account. It has also been translated into German, in Stoecklein, J., *Allerhand Reisebeschreibungen*, Band 1, Th. 6, 1726, and into the Mohawk and Montagnais Indian languages.

CLARA A. SMITH

A GROLIER CLUB EXHIBITION.—Perhaps one of the most important exhibitions of printed books ever held in America was opened for the Annual Meeting of the Grolier Club of New York on the evening of January 23, and continued on public view until March 15, 1919.

The exhibition consisted of Early Printed Liturgical Books, with many books of private devotion. These were interesting

for a multitude of reasons aside from their subject-matter: first, perhaps, because of their place at the beginning of the history of the printed book, showing, as nothing else does, its direct development from the manuscript; then for their wealth of illustration, their importance among the first picture-books, as well as for the portrayal of contemporary manners and customs which the cuts contain; and, again, for the association of many of the copies with the great names of history, or with the famous collectors in whose libraries they have been preserved successively until today—among them the ponderous *Missal* of Henry III, a *Book of Hours* illuminated for Francis I when a boy, and another made for Catherine de Medici, which, it has been suggested, may have been used by her on the very night of the horrors of St. Bartholomew. That these service books have been a favorite subject with printers, who have been students of their art and collectors as well, is proved by the large number of volumes in the exhibition which had passed through the collections of the great Didot and William Morris, and it was pleasant for a lover of Morris to trace their influence upon him, both in the types and the quaint cuts of the very copies which he had owned and studied.

The most important book exhibited was the famous *Mainz Psalter* of Fust and Schoeffer, 1459, with its initial letters, which are the despair of printers in colors today. This copy of the second dated book is the only one of the few existing which has found its way to America. Other choice volumes were the only known copy of the first service book printed in England (a *Book of Hours* done by Caxton, about 1477), the *Mozarabic Psalter and Breviary* printed for Cardinal Ximenez, which are among the rarest and handsomest examples of Spanish printing, and colored and uncolored copies of the great *Missal*, published by Giunta in 1503 for the monks of Vallombrosa, called the most beautiful missal ever printed in Venice.

A *Treatise on the Mass*, by Savonarola (Florence, ca. 1496), was opened to show a cut representing the Elevation of the Host,

one of the most beautiful woodcuts of the Italian Renaissance. Early German decoration was represented by the *Psalter* of Hermann Nitschwitz, printed at the Cistercian Monastery at Zinna, ca. 1495, a curious work executed in honor of the Emperor Frederick and his son Maximilian, and called by Mr. Pollard the "most richly decorated German book of the 15th century." A case of lovely little Italian Books of Hours included two copies of Aldus' Greek *Horae* of 1497, with its noted woodcut of the Annunciation.

Fully two-thirds of the exhibition, however, was made up of the French Books of Hours so generally conceded to be, both in printing and illustration, among the most beautiful books ever printed. Nearly one hundred of these were exhibited, so that in addition to showing the illustrations usually accompanying the Hours of the Virgin, the Sequences, the Penitential Psalms, etc., it was possible to exhibit many of the varied forms of treatment, by different artists, of the same subject, as, for instance, the "Annunciation to the Shepherds," always one of the most charming of the illustrations, as well as to trace the same block through the offices of different printers, for the study of the interchange of blocks among the printers of the Parisian *Horae* has always been a puzzling one. Other volumes were opened at leaves showing the delicate tracery of the floral borders, the tiny woodcut figures of many of the border blocks, the elaborate marks of the various printers, and the cuts of the occupations of the months, with their very human interest, preceded by the Anatomical Man in all his gruesomeness, even as he appears in the popular almanac of today. By far the greater number were printed on vellum, and many were illuminated, but the beauty of the coloring in many cases failed to atone for the loss of the clear lines of the woodcut, and it was usually the uncolored copy that received the greater attention.

Antoine V  rard, the first publisher of these *Horae*, was represented by a superb copy of his *Grandes Heures* of August 20, 1490, followed by seven others produced by him. The work of Jean

du Pré, first Parisian printer of illustrated books, was shown by a volume printed for Meslier, February 14, 1490. The followers of Vêrard and Du Pré, though not originators, attained a perfection which is found especially in the work of Philippe Pigouchet and his principal publisher, Simon Vostre. No less than twenty-five volumes produced by them appeared in the exhibition, the beautiful editions of August 22 and September 16, 1498, probably the most noted of all the *Horae*, being seen in colored and uncolored copies. Examples of the five different sets of cuts which they used were shown—the early archaic, followed by the perfection of the simple French Gothic, and the sets showing German influence and the gradual deterioration which came in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Long sets by Kerver, the Hardouyns, and the minor printers showed variety, but little originality, until the work of Geofroy Tory was reached, when new beauty, this time of the Renaissance, was infused into the old Book of Hours. Two varieties of Tory's noted edition of 1524-25 were exhibited.

In the sixteenth century, as evidenced especially by the books produced by Thielman Kerver, Higman and Eustace, the old Gothic border, with its manifold charms, went out of fashion; and in one case in the exhibition two copies of the same book were seen, one of them containing the usual border, and the other (whether by some such process as the use of a frisket, or by erasure, is not certain) appearing with only a narrow gold fillet painted about the type-page.

The exhibition closed with a group of books of English interest, including Caxton's *Hours according to Sarum Use*, already referred to; five early *Primers*, printed in England, or partially, at least, in the English language; three editions of the famous *Queen Elizabeth's Prayer-Book*, and the first edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, known as the *First Book of Edward VI*, 1549.

R. S. G.

